THE WOMAN'S
DREADNOUGHT

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MONTESSORI METHOD: By Muriel Matters

It is becoming increasingly evident that the child, like his elders, cannot live by bread alone, but has need of spiritual nutriment also.

Daily this is more apparent to those of us who try to minister to the child's needs in the schools where the Montessori method is applied. When we started our little experiment at the "Mothers' Arms" we took from the crêche seven children, varying from 2¾ to 4¼ years of age, into a room specially prepared for their reception. Dr. Montessori believes that the new science—Scientific Pedagogy—must have, like other branches, its own technique. Hitherto the new science has been confused with Experimental Psychology and Pedagogical Anthropology. It must include these branches, but must deal primarily with the scientific education of the child. All educationalists, from Plato downwards, have agreed on two points: (*a*) the one to be educated must be studied; (*b*) "no learning should be learnt with bondage." But Dr. Montessori is the first of the great educators to adopt the technique of modern science by preparing a suitable environment in which the child can manifest spontaneously. She would be justified in saying that the past great ones—who were metaphysicians and philosophers in the main—went to the child with *their* philosophy, but she goes to the child to obtain *hers*. Knowledge of any life, whether it be insect, animal, or child life, can only be obtained by first giving a suitable environment, and then freedom for expression.

Just as one cannot obtain a real understanding of bird nature from a caged bird nor of animal nature from those in confinement, so is it impossible to obtain real knowledge of child nature if we confine them to a bench and talk to them instead of allowing them to express themselves to us. We do not get any idea of their true capabilities if we provide them with an environment proportioned to an adult. Hence the need of reform in all the furniture of the child's school-room, so that he may live and move freely in and handle all its contents. His first lessons consist in learning to master the contents of his room, and by means of small brooms, dusters and pans he keeps it clean. This, combined with instruction in washing and performing other acts necessary to his toilet, we call "Exercises of Practical Life." The child soon learns to serve himself and not be served, thus securing not only a capacity for moving gracefully in his environment, handling everything without breaking, but the establishment of order and independence. This means not only achievement in muscular co-ordination and physical development, but includes growth on the moral and mental planes.

Montessori at the "Mother's Arms"

One is learning so much of the inherent goodness and greatness of the human soul from this young life—perhaps much more than from the adult who, through wrong education, or by conforming to conventional standards, has been dwarfed. We are already reaping fruits in this child garden such as Froebel beautifully conceived in his "Kindergarten." That great teacher would take great joy were he able to stand by our side, seeing first the bud, then the flower, and last the fruits of the spirit in the actions of these little children. In an atmosphere where co-operation is encouraged and competition cannot thrive, where love and gentleness are persuaded as abiding guests, the children really grow. One very striking case was that of A, aged 3½. When she came to us from the nursery she was a rather miserable looking child who wept too often for the comfort of the rest of the class. At times she would throw herself on the floor—a not unusual thing in small children—and kick and scream. She was described as "a child with a violent temper." Within three weeks a great change came into her life. It was really "into her life," for it was a case of inner growth, and the external appearance naturally changed too. She grew plump, and the little face that had looked white, and at times drawn with hard lines, changed in colour, although the diet in the Montessori Class is the same as in the Nursery. This is not meant as a reflection on the Nursery, you will understand, but it serves to prove my first statement: the child cannot live by bread alone. All that energy which hitherto had not found adequate expression became ordered and directed in the varied activities of the class-room, so that her life, too, was ordered and enlarged. From an inharmonious, undirected force she became harmonised and directed.

It is essential, if our experiments are to continue, that we should raise a fund to keep in the class the children who have started, as Montessori would put it, "on the path," for we cannot ask their mothers to send them regularly—and regularity is absolutely necessary—if they are out of work. When the mothers are at home they keep the children at home. We want to keep our little group with us, where they are getting not only food, warmth, and rest—they sleep for two hours daily—but psychic nutriment as well.

"LOOK AFTER YOUR CHILDREN": By P. J. Dollan

Sir Thomas Dunlop, Bart., who in November, 1914, was, because of his money and influence, elected Lord Provost of Glasgow, which position he still occupies, has insulted the working-class women of the city and consequently there is trouble brewing. Sir Thomas, who is a genial militarist, not over blessed with culture or ideas, was asked to allow the Town Council to receive a deputation of working-class women regarding the shortage of food and the inequality of distribution which prevails. The deputation was organised by the Labour Party Housing Committee, and seventeen of the twenty-one women who composed it were the wives or mothers of men who were in the trenches. The deputation desired to submit its views on the food problem to Council and to offer its co-operation in any attempt at a solution, and was in every way an orderly and helpful assembly, even though it was accompanied to the City Chambers by hundreds of mothers who wanted potatoes for their ill-nourished children.

Sir Thomas, who as a shipowner and grain merchant, has amassed a large fortune at the expense of Labour, was expected to receive without demur the deputation from the class whose labour had made him rich and a baronet. Had Sir Thomas been a gentleman he would have been delighted to receive the deputation, but not being a gentleman he advised the Town Council not to hear the deputation; and the Council, containing a majority of profiteers, accepted his advice. There was no good to be gained in hearing the deputation, said the discourteous baronet, as we could not increase the supply of food without the assistance "of the elements and Almighty God," and besides—"the women would be better employed at home minding the children"! This latter remark was regarded by the Labourists as an insult to the women by creating the impression that those composing the deputation had neglected their children in order to have an outing to the City Chambers, and they demanded the withdrawal of the insult. The Lord Provost refused to withdraw it, and in the row which followed four Labour councillors were suspended and ejected from the meeting. The Labour Councillors were right in demanding a withdrawal of the implied insult, as it was apparent to those who heard the objectionable remarks that it was intended to be a smart sneer at the poor women who dared to ask an audience of the great and mighty Lord Provost of Glasgow.

However, it is hoped the women of the working class will in truth look after their children in the future. By that we mean that they are not only to look after their children in the ordinary maternal sense, but are to look after them in such a way that they will not want for any one thing essential to their moral and physical well-being. If the working-class mothers of Glasgow had looked after their children as well as the Lord Provost has looked after his own interests there would be no slums, poverty, or ugliness in the city; the affairs and business of the city would be conducted in the interests of all the children and the great majority of the 2,294 infants who died in Glasgow last year would have been saved for a better day; there would be child welfare in reality and every bairn would be adequately provided for; there would be no adulteration of milk for the sake of profit; and there would be no need for 17,000 women to sell their bodies on the streets of the city in order that they might live or have some colour in their lives. Nor would there be any scarcity of food in the houses of the poor, and there would be no War. Warfare is possible because the women of the working class entrust the welfare of their children to profiteers like Sir Thomas Dunlop, who are concerned about humanity as a source of profit only.

If the women of Glasgow looked after their children in real earnest Sir Thomas Dunlop would not have been Lord Provost of Glasgow, for the gallant knight was elected Lord Provost because of his money and not on account of his capacity for municipal government. Like others of his class, he made his money at the expense of the people, and because our women did not look too well after their children. It would have been a

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WHOSE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION?

The Social Revolution is in progress in Russia. As before, the popular struggle has gathered itself for a supreme effort in the midst of a War, and in the early spring of the year, like the herald of a new age. The press correspondents say that there has been little bloodshed or violence: it would appear from their writings that the people leaving their work in mill and factory flocked into the streets with gladness and rejoicing to fraternise with the soldiers who were sent to shoot them down. The prisons are said to have opened their doors to release the captives, whilst the offices of the secret police were raided, their records burnt, and every local police-station similarly visited. The very fortress of St. Peter and Paul, where so many well-known political prisoners have been incarcerated, has become the headquarters of the revolutionaries. Everyone throwing up his cap, merry soldiers taking joy rides, restaurant keepers inviting all and sundry to partake freely of biscuits and tea, so the British press has represented the revolution! Ah, well, perhaps there may be some truth in the picture they have drawn for us. Though they have kept in the background the fact that the people are starving, that food is scarce and the workers winning their freedom by that terrible two-edged weapon the general strike, which though it surely leads to freedom when adopted by an absolutely united and completely indomitable populace, brings down by far the largest share of the suffering upon the poor folk who wield it.

Mr. Bonar Law, Mr. Lloyd George, and the capitalist papers which serve them would have us believe that the Russian people, starving from war scarcity, have rebelled merely to secure the efficient conduct of the War, and that at the fearful risk of massacre and ill-treatment of which they are so unhappily cognisant, they have risen against their autocratic rulers, merely because those rulers are said to have had pro-German sympathies. The revolution was said to be all but over last Saturday. But it is still in progress and its promoters are contending with a host of enemies, both at home and abroad.

Many factions in Russia are conspiring to overthrow the Revolution. Those who surrounded the Czar have not agreed to surrender their supremacy. The autocrats of the old régime have flung out the weak figure-head to divert the attention of the angry populace, meaning to keep everything else exactly as it is and to punish the people with even more than the usual ferocity when the War shall release the forces necessary for the task. Many of these would have made peace with Germany, not from good will towards that country, but lest the work of crushing the Russian people go too long undone. Others are deeply interested in the outcome of the War, for they are looking to be enriched by territorial conquests and the capture of markets hitherto served by Germany, Austria and Turkey. Merchants, manufacturers, lawyers and others of the richer middle class are also striving to turn the revolution to account in improving their own position. They wish to modernise Russia, to make it a better land for men of their class, but they are as much afraid of the men who are making the revolution as are the autocrats of the old régime.

Our newspapers have sought to make Rodzianko and Miliukokff the heroes of the revolution. Yet Rodzianko is a Conservative. He told a representative of the "Daily Chronicle" the other day that the old Government had been deposed because it was not a good one for prosecuting the War, and that the Duma would be dissolved because the time for talking and for Reform would come after the War. Miliukoff was considered an advanced Liberal once, but since the War he has become an extreme Imperialist, and seems to have specialised in demanding that Russia shall annex Constantinople and other territory. Until the popular movement gained strength he was willing enough to associate with the reactionaries: Enjoying a seat in the Duma made possible by the sacrifices of others, he was comfortably able to forget the political exiles in Siberia in his zeal for the "national" cause.

No, these are not the people who made the Revolution; the real revolutionaries are the dreamers who take their lives in their hands and walk always in danger, the men and women who have suffered imprisonment, torture and exile, the workers who exist several families together in a single room, eating black bread and soup made of bad meat "because it is cheap," the peasants who live like cattle in deepest poverty, and who are flogged when they have not enough money to pay their taxes.

At present there are virtually two Governments in Russia—the Provisional Government appointed by the Duma and the Council of Labour Deputies, which is responsible to the elected representatives of the workers and the soldiers, one representative to every thousand of workers, one to every company of troops.

The "Times," the mouthpiece of reaction, which supports coercion and tyranny in every land, clearly reveals the state of affairs to any who care to read between the lines. It attacks the workers, and especially the Social-Democrats, declaring that a Socialist Republic would mean ruin and disaster. It declares that to the Army and not to the workers is the revolution due, though the reports in its own columns and those of other newspapers prove the falsity of this contention. The "Times" itself, in common with other papers, has recorded that strikes on a large scale began on Friday, March 10th, the people refusing to work without bread. The soldiers joined the people, but they did so at first without their officers, who only took their stand with the people when it was abundantly clear that there was no available force which could control the people. The vast strikes of March 10th were but the culmination of a movement which has been growing steadily during the War, incidents from which, such as the refusal of the 181st Regiment to fire on the strikers from the New Lessner Works at Renaud, we have reported from time to time. The campaign has been organised by the various Socialist and Social Revolutionary bodies which produced the revolution of 1905-6, and have not since rested. Some idea of the extent of their great propaganda may be gathered from the fact that in 1904 the Lettish Social Democratic Workers' Party distributed in the Baltic Provinces a million leaflets, upwards of 30,000 booklets, and over 100,000 copies of the "Social Democrat." In 1905 it possessed three secret printing works, and during the last four months of that year received £6,250 from the sale of booklets alone. At that time it had 52 organisers and a membership of 18,000. This is but one of many such bodies. In estimating the devotion of the propagandists it should be remembered that the mere proof of membership of such an organisation is sufficient to procure imprisonment for a long term, exile to Siberia, or, in times of unrest, torture and death.

During the War the Socialist and other workers' organisations have toiled on for freedom, and as popular discontent has grown with the growth of war hardships they have striven to induce the Duma to take the side of the people. Some months ago the Socialist representatives moved a resolution demanding that the Government should be made responsible to the Duma, but Miliukoff and the Liberals who formed the majority voted them down, and substituted a resolution asking the Czar to appoint a Ministry which would gain the national confidence—a vague and impossible proposition, for since few men think alike, it is impossible for any body of men to obtain the confidence of all!

Though the revolution broke out on March 9th, Rodzianko, Miliukoff, and the other Moderates waited in impotence. They took no step till March 12th, when, subserviently, they telegraphed to the Czar asking him to appoint new Ministers to replace those who had resigned the day before. Perhaps bewildered by the tyrant's failure to reply, the majority of the Duma were induced by the Socialist party to form a Provisional Government. The Socialists agreed to join this Government. They were allowed but two members of the committee of twelve, and on every hand difficulties and dangers met them. Reactionary Ministers were appointed: The important Ministry of Finance and the even more important Ministry of Justice fell to Povroski, an ex-Minister of the old régime, and Maklakoff, brother of the ex-Home Secretary. The worst of the appointments were rescinded by the continued pressure of the strike outside. The Socialist Kerensky was made Minister of Justice, a post which, in Russia, where darkest measures of police coercion are used, is of most vital moment.

As the days, so crowded with important events, followed each other, military and naval officers and civilian officials of all ranks, from Grand Dukes downward, offered their services to the Duma: Many reactionaries found it convenient to pose as freedom-lovers. In spite of protests that all was now well the workers remained on strike, for only by this means could they insist that progress should be maintained and keep the forces of reaction in fear. As the printers were amongst the strikers, a revolutionary sheet, published by a committee of volunteers, was the only newspaper published, a most fortunate circumstance, which, no doubt, contributed to the prevailing order which every correspondent has noted, for the "Black Hundred" organs of the reaction are skilled in deadly incitements to violence and race hatred.

Gradually the pressure of popular determination secured concession after concession. On March 14th the Provisional Government issued a proclamation, which was merely an appeal to order and gave no promise of the expected reforms. Rodzianko addressed the troops at the Tauris Palace in the same strain, and his only promise was that of victory in the War. The Social Democratic Party then issued a proclamation which the "Times" and other newspapers describe as "most seditious," but which they do not reproduce. The insistent demands of the rank and file, in the words of the "Times," "forced" Kerensky and Cheidze "to take up an attitude which complicated the task of the Provisional Government." Thanks to this attitude and the pressure which produced it, the Provisional Government issued on March 16th the following very remarkable series of reforms:—

I.—An immediate general amnesty for all political and religious offences, including terrorist acts, military revolts, and agrarian crimes.

II.—Freedom of speech, of the Press, of association and labour organisation, and the freedom to strike, with an extension of these liberties to officials and troops in so far as military and technical conditions permit.

III.—The abolition of all social, religious, and national restrictions.

IV.—Immediate preparations for the summoning of a constituent assembly, which, with universal suffrage as a basis, shall establish the Governmental regime and the Constitution of the country.

V.—The substitution for the police of a national militia, with elective heads and subject to the self-government bodies.

VI.—Communal elections to be carried out on the basis of universal suffrage.

VII.—The troops that have taken part in the revolutionary movement shall not be disarmed, but they are not to leave Petrograd.

VIII.—While severe military discipline must be maintained on active service, all restrictions upon soldiers in the enjoyment of social rights granted to other citizens are to be abolished.

The Provisional Government wishes to add that it has no intention of taking advantage of the existence of war conditions to delay the realisation of the above-mentioned measures of reform.

British women will ask: "Do these demands include women The answer is that to the Socialists it does. At the first congress of the Lettish Social Democratic Party in June, 1904, a provisional programme was adopted, and in it the electoral reforms now promised found a place; the adult suffrage clause there read as follows:—

"Adult suffrage, i.e., the right to an equal, secret and direct vote in all elections, local and national, for all citizens, men and women, who have reached the age of 20."

On the same day it was announced that the question as to whether or not the Czar's brother, the Grand Duke Michael Alexandrovitch, should rule in his place, was to be left open until decided by a plebiscite of the people. When the Czar had abdicated it was assumed that the people would accept whoever might be put forward as his successor, for tyrannical bureaucracies are wont to believe that the people never learn. But the temper of the people warned the Executive and Duke Michael to announce that he would only accept the throne if elected to it by popular vote.

So it was thought to win public favour. But the determination of Duke Michael and the forces of privilege and reaction not to allow their destiny to be decided by an adult suffrage election is clearly reflected in the following comments by the Petrograd correspondent of the "Times":—

"Orthodoxy and Czardom are indissoluble bases of the mentality of all Russians, and . . . the Republican form of Government would inevitably bring about a disruption to the Empire. . . . therefore we must be content to go on with the new Provisional Government until quieter days supervene in Petrograd. As soon as Prince Lveff and his colleagues, backed by the Duma and the faithful regiments, are able to enforce their authority, they will be in a position to counteract the mischievous influence of the demagogues."

In other words, Let things go on as they are till the end of the War, when, by means of the troops returned from the front, the people can be subdued, and all promises of reform broken. A pretty scheme!

On Tuesday the "Manchester Guardian" also stated that in all probability the Russian elections would be postponed till after the War. But popular pressure grew in strength and impatience. Three thousands soldiers' and workmen's dele-

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THE LABOUR CONFERENCE

We are living in a time of shams, and never was this more clearly instanced than at the Labour Conference at the Central Hall, Westminster, on March 20th. At the opening of the proceedings, Mr. Will Thorne moved a resolution of congratulation to the Russian revolutionaries. He said that he supposed he had been chosen to perform the office because, "I am a revolutionary and a red-flagger," but of course every one knows that there is no more safely subservient supporter of the capitalist Coalition Government than he. He ranted on in a rattling, flippant way which failed to gain any grip upon his audience. His declaration that at one sweep all the tyrants and traitors in Russia had been wiped out was greeted with laughter. Mr. J. H. Thomas was less sanguine. He wished that Mr. Thorne might be right, for, he said, the British Labour movement had never feared the Russian peasant, but had always feared the Russian tyrant, even in connection with the peace negotiations. It was interesting to hear Mr. Thomas say this for his colleagues of the Labour Party have concealed with complete success any fear of the Russian autocracy which they have felt during the War.

From the body of the hall, and, obviously without arrangement, the chairman of the British section of the International Metal Workers' Federation, then briefly stated his desire to associate himself with the resolution. He pointed out that the new Government of Russia had declared for complete Adult Suffrage, and urged that this fact should be brought to the notice of the British Government, coupled with a demand that it should establish the same measure of freedom in this country. But at once Mr. John Hill, the Chairman was upon his feet, endeavouring to shoo the speaker into silence, on the pretext perhaps, that he had spoken long enough.

Robert Smillie, President of the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, followed, expressing satisfaction at the general amnesty for political prisoners in Russia, and hoping that the new Russian Government would not ask, as the old one did, for the return of the refugees who have found asylum in this country. He wished that the resolution had asked for the refugees to be left here in peace till they choose to return of their own accord. The resolution was of course carried unanimously by the Conference, though the spirit of its majority was absolutely alien to that of the Russian revolutionaries who are still engaged in the desperate struggle for freedom.

The Chairman then made a long and dull speech on the Speaker's Conference proposals, arguing that they should be accepted on the ground that franchise reform is of slow growth. He anticipated the contention that Russia had secured Adult Suffrage and even the right to strike by revolution, but said that when we were ready for a revolution we might also get such things. In the meantime, he and his colleagues favoured another constitutional effort. They wanted a new register to prevent the election of a reactionary Parliament. Apparently he is unaware of the reactionary nature of the present Parliament.

Mr. Goldstone, who spoke as one of the three Labour members of the Speaker's Conference, recommended the proposals as "a working compromise." He warningly told the conference that the compromise was so "nicely poised" that any attempt to alter it would bring down the whole edifice, in which case the Government might refuse to introduce a Bill at all. His speech was wearisome and trivial, and thoroughly in keeping with the pettifogging nature of the proposals—one felt, as though one had been transported to a young Liberals' debating society. Mr. Wardle and Mr. Stephen Walsh followed in the same strain, the latter contending that the task of winning complete Adult Suffrage could be "left to the generations that are arising."

Several delegates rose to ask questions, but the Chairman objected, saying that no questions could be put to Labour members of the Speaker's Conference who were responsible to the Parliamentary Labour Party.

Mr. Clynes then moved at great length a resolution asking for legislation on the lines of the Speakers' Conference Report. He said that to ask for Adult Suffrage was unpractical. He knew that Mr. Smillie and others would presently be declaring that Adult Suffrage was being withheld from a clamouring democracy, but he added sneeringly, that Mr. Smillie had six or seven times offered his services as Parliamentary representative to men of his own class, but they had on every occasion "turned him down." Later on Mr. Smillie said he felt sure that "Jimmy" Clynes had not meant to sneer at him in referring to his candidatures. Clynes knew that he (Smillie) could have been in Parliament years and years ago if he had been willing to play the political game. But neither then nor when he spoke again subsequently did Clynes respond to the opportunity given by his older comrade to remove the sting from what he had said. Clynes, the once modest and unassuming little man from Lancashire, who worked as a child half-time in a cotton mill, has strangely altered, and has grown more and more reactionary. Referring to the proposed franchise for women, he said it was not a fact that millions of them were clamouring for votes, but women had won the small instalment that was to be granted to them "by means and deeds higher than those by which men secured their enfranchisement." In the view of Clynes, it is evidently worthier to be a willing and docile wage slave than to struggle for political freedom. But women do not generally admit that their title to vote rests merely upon War work.

Mr. Gosling also supported the proposals, urging that they ought to be accepted or rejected, not amended. As soon as these official speakers had said their say in support of compromise as lengthily as they pleased, it was announced that further speeches would be rigidly restricted to five minutes and that the consideration of Electoral Reform must terminate in the morning in order that there might be an emergency discussion of industrial conscription in the afternoon.

Miss Mary Macarthur then made a speech full of contradictions. She began by saying that the National Federation of Women Workers realised that these proposals were a decided step forward so far as men were concerned, and that they did not want to play the part of wreckers by forcing their own interests so as to jeopardise the advantage of the men. Rather mischievously she went on to say that the women recognised the men's fear of a preponderance of women, but they did not understand it. "Obviously," she added, "the miners are not afraid of anything." Having tended to produce the impression that no very definite stand in opposition to them was to be expected either from her or the organisation she represented, she went on to say that the Speaker's Conference proposals were so extremely absurd that no one agreed with them. She urged with some earnestness that if the number of women voters were to be reduced by an age barrier, why should not this be done by withholding votes to women over 50? The young men whose fresh ideas we should need were being lost in the War; let us not lose also the ideas of the young women. The Russian revolution should surely have made some difference. Could we not make this country as much of a democracy as Russia?

Mr. Robert Smillie then rose to say that in view of the strong expressions of opinion that to amend the proposals might be to wreck the entire edifice that he would ask permission for the miners' representatives to hold a consultation as to whether they should withdraw the amendment which stood in their name, that the proposals should only be accepted on condition that the franchise be extended to women on the same basis as to men. Leave was granted, and the miners filed out to confer.

A heated discussion then took place as to whether industrial conscription should be discussed afterwards. Some delegates objected that they were not instructed, whilst others sprang to their feet declaring that every one must know the opinion of his comrades on this matter, and loudly demanding the discussion. Two votes by show of hands gave a majority for the discussion. A card vote confirmed this. Many delegates were of opinion that the electoral reform question was being deliberately rushed by the Executive, but industrial conscription was urgently imminent.

The conference melted away to lunch. At two o'clock the Chairman called for one of the many Adult Suffrage amendments on the agenda. Its mover, partly owing to the noise made by returning delegates, partly owing to weakness of voice, was quite inaudible, and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who seconded the amendment, had all too short a time to refer to the many points in which the Speaker's Conference proposals fall short of Adult Suffrage. The statement of Mr. Clynes that "if some women get the vote they can surely be trusted never to rest until it is extended to every one of their sisters," she answered by remarking that the men who had gained the vote had not hastened to secure its extension to their brothers.

Mr. Tom Shaw, a Lancashire cotton operatives' representative, who at every Labour conference is always to be found on the side of reaction, and is one of the most virulent jingoes in the Labour movement, declared that he represented a large number of women members of his Union, and that these women were not warm and active in the pursuit of enfranchisement. He tauntingly asked Robert Smillie what he would do to secure better terms and asked whether he would advocate a general strike? Smillie replied that on this or any question in which we were raising ourselves from slavery he would be prepared to use the political machine. He asked in return whether Shaw would deny votes to the women members of his Union.

A miners' representative urged that the Russian revolution, the German Chancellor's suggestion of Adult Suffrage, and the Speaker's Conference itself are all evidences that the people are thinking and will think of the franchise. The Government dared not tell the women and the young men that they must remain disfranchised. If the Labour Members had the courage to stand firm, they could sway the country on this question. It was said that the people must not be divided during the War, but the Northcliffe press had not shrunk from doing this when they turned out the Asquith Government. Alderman Davies, West Ham, a representative of the Nelson Labour Party, Mr. Gossip, and others strongly supported the Adult Suffrage amendment, but it was lost by over two million votes to eighty-eight thousand.

Mr. Smillie then announced that the Miners desired to press their amendment that the franchise for women should be the same as that for men. He said that the men on the platform could arouse the enthusiasm necessary to carry it if they would, and that the Government would not dare to refuse enfranchisement to the women of all ages, and to the young men unless the officials of the Labour movement sold them. Mr. Robert Williams said that the Speaker's Conference would in any case be torpedoed by the reactionaries. He complained that in every important issue during the War the Labour Party had capitulated.

In reply, Mr. Clynes played his trump card. The women, he said, did not want a broader franchise than that offered by the Speaker's Conference, and to prove this he quoted a resolution urging legislation on those lines, which had been signed on behalf of 28 women's organisations, including the National Federation of Women Workers, the Women's Co-operative Guild, the Women's Labour League, the Women's International League, and the Fabian Women Group. A representation of the Women's Co-operative Guild protested. She knew nothing of the resolution. A representative of the Fabians was heard declaring that the Group had had no meeting to discuss the matter. Miss Margaret Bondfield, who was one of the signatories to the fatal resolution on behalf of the National Federation of Women Workers, kept bobbing up trying in vain to attract the Chairman's attention "to a point of order." Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, who knew the history of the false step, against which she had given repeated warning, endeavoured to save the situation by asking the Chairman whether he was aware that these women's organisations had signed the compromise resolution at a conference convened by middle-class organisations, under the impression that it would not prevent them from working for Adult Suffrage. But in the hubbub and cries of "Vote," only a portion of those present could hear. The miners' amendment, the chances of which had been weakened by Mr. Smillie's suggestion that it might be withdrawn, was lost by 931,000 to 562,000.

The following lengthy resolution was then adopted, the Executive preferring it to a simple demand for Adult Suffrage, because it leaves loopholes to wriggle out of :—

"That this Conference, representing the industrial and political organisations of the working class, both men and women, while adhering to its repeated demands for complete adult suffrage, and other such reforms in registration and constituencies as will make elections clearly representative of the popular will, welcomes the efforts made by the Speaker's Conference to arrive at an agreement upon these questions; it is of opinion that the Parliamentary Labour Party should support as a minimum the Resolutions of the Speaker's Conference, provided that the enfranchisement of women, including all wage-earners and widows is agreed to, and calls for immediate legislation on the general lines of the Report, so that a decision of a truly national character may be given at the forthcoming General Election. This Conference further requests the Parliamentary Labour Party to endeavour to secure the inclusion of women on the broadest possible basis, and especially to ensure that the bulk of the wage-earning women are not excluded from any franchise measure."

The Industrial Conscription discussion then took place. The Executive had prepared an anti-industrial conscription resolution in vaguely bombastic terms. It was moved by Mr. J. H. Thomas, M.P., seconded by Mr. Stuart Bunning, of the Postman's Federation

Gosling, of the Carpenters' and Joiners, and Robert Smillie, both declared that their organisations would strike at the first attempt to enforce industrial compulsion. They were perhaps in earnest; but the debate as a whole was stamped with unreality. One felt that it was all a game of bluff, and that the majority would presently accept complete industrial compulsion as tamely as they have accepted military compulsion, and the very substantial measure of industrial compulsion which already obtains. How, indeed, could it be otherwise, with those who have forgotten the class struggle and have wholly accepted the doctrine of military necessity as expounded by jingo Imperialists?

"LOOK AFTER YOUR CHILDREN"

(continued from front page)

good thing for the poor children if a shipowner could not have been appointed Lord Provost because of his wealth: that would have meant that the First Citizen would have been chosen because of his capacity for civic government by people who realised the benefits to be gained from a democratic administration. The very fact that plutocrats can be appointed to the first position in any city is in itself an indication that the children are not looked after properly; if they were, there would be no plutocrats.

The Glasgow women are now beginning to understand these things, and to perceive, however dimly, that they must look after their bairns outside as well as inside the home. They are beginning to realise that when their children are in want it is their duty to go outside to demand that that want shall be met. It was the lack of potatoes that drove the women to the City Chambers, in the hope that the Town Council would make an effort at least to get potatoes for the hungry bairns. Evidently the children of the wealthy members of the Council were not short of potatoes, and so the Council, not feeling any urge to supply a need which they did not feel, refused to hear the women who had come out from their homes to get potatoes for their children. The Lord Provost, shirking like the occupant of a coward's castle, threw the responsibility for the shortage of potatoes and other food supplies on Almighty God, and turned the women away with a sneer! When there is anything wrong, "blame God," seems to be the motto of the profiteers. It was not God, but the Government who conscribed farm labour, and so produced a shortage in the crop of potatoes; it is not God, but patriotic Britons who are holding up supplies. The potato pits are in Scotland and not in Heaven.

The effect of the women's march for food is that the Town Council denied them any assistance, and practically told them to go home and comfort the aching stomachs of their children until the War was over with a victory for the Allies. No doubt the men in the trenches will be pleased to hear how the Lord Provost refused to listen to their women's cry for potatoes for their children. In any case the women of Glasgow should make the Lord Provost understand that they, and not he, are the guardians of Glasgow's future, and that his duty is to obey the common will and not to thwart it. If the women of Russia refuse to tolerate despots, neither need the women of Glasgow.

It is the intention of the women, I believe, to march again to the City Chambers, and on that occasion they should make sure that no man will keep them out of the Council Chamber if they want to secure an entrance. The working women of Glasgow have even more right to be heard in the City Chambers than the Lord Provost, who is, after all, but the faulty symbol of a decaying era.

FOOLING THE WOMEN

To cover up the deficiencies in various Government departments one scheme is launched after another. One of those stop-gap schemes is National Service, for the woman's department of which a show meeting was held in Albert Hall on Saturday 17th. No seat in all that vast building was vacant, but at the same time no one could call it a meeting representative of workers; the audience for the most part belonged to the idle rich, who surely never intend to do National Service which entails labour.

The head of this new venture—Mr. Neville Chamberlain, was in the chair, but before he could open his lips to address the meeting, one of the W.S.F. members rose and denounced the scheme as industrial conscription. Her courage caused others to interrupt later, and had there been more such brave fighters in the Hall, Her Majesty and Mrs. Tennant would have got a lesson on the working woman's point of view. Mrs. Tennant, the Director of the Women's branch in a most apologetic manner told all the thousands of women who were assembled that no paid work was yet available! Volunteers would be necessary for the house to house collection of rags to make wool—probably to free the rag-and-bone man for the front! Pit props, too, were urgently needed, and women were appealed to to come forward to supply this need. Mrs. Tennant feared that English women were not so experienced as those from over-seas for this work; therefore she hoped that "our sisters" from over-seas would help! Then why in Heaven's name does she address an audience of English women and ask for Colonials!

Miss Violet Markham gave statistics showing the great number of women who had come into industry since the War. This meeting was not to "appeal" (Mrs. Tennant used the word dozens of times!) to women to come forward for there were more women available than there was work! She made no mention of the poor wages; but held forth on the wonderful work women were doing and had done.

The only real want or desire to have women offer their service was expressed by Mr. Prothero, who wants them on the land for the paltry sum of 18s. a week! Men are to have a minimum of 25s., but women again here are asked to come in as blacklegs and not only that, but to "stick to their jobs," a saying which gave his hearers to think: Once these women are on the land, will they have a chance of drawing back? The charms of rural life and the difficulties were painted in glowing language, and I thought here is hard work and trying work offered to women at poor pay; but in London taxi-driving is dubbed as too strenuous, simply because men have been able to make a good thing of it and want to keep the women from doing the same.

Lord Derby was remarkable for his flippancy! In a disgustingly condescending tone he told that the War Office was now adding to its burdens that greatest of all burdens: Supplying women with uniforms "made to measure"! He did not want any more women for France, ten times as many as were needed had applied!! His speech was the most insulting of a collection of the most shameless and degrading utterances I have ever heard addressed to a public assembly. The only opposition came from other W.S.F. members, who also condemned the proceedings as a means to industrial compulsion; one who called for negotiation and for the War to be stopped was ejected.

It remained for the labour man to save the situation; but no, Mr. Hodge could do nothing but lick the boots of the Queen and Lord Derby and roll the R's in Mr. Prothero's name with an efficiency which might have made him a notable figure in a Shakespearean play, had he had a cap and bells. It was a farce, and, in my opinion, an insult to talk down thus to British women. If there had been enough working women present, I feel sure there would not have been such a peaceful conclusion.

M. O'C.

INDUSTRIAL CONSCRIPTION CONFERENCE AT BIRMINGHAM.

A representative conference of delegates from Trade Unions, Co-operative Societies, and Suffrage Societies was held in Birmingham on Saturday, March 10th, at the Priory Rooms. Mr. W. C. Anderson, M.P., moved the following resolution: "This conference is opposed to any form of Industrial Conscription for men, *and still more for women, who, being unrepresented, have no voice in the matter*, and view the proposed scheme as a menace to the civil and industrial liberties of the people." The words in italics were inserted by an amendment moved by Miss Margaret Haly, of the Women's International League, and supported by Miss Boden, of the Birmingham Branch of the Workers' Suffrage Federation. The resolution was carried with one dissentient.

A most successful conference, which showed that the rank and file in the Midlands are absolutely sound in their antagonism to Industrial Conscription. J.H.D.

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Miss May O'Callaghan:—
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Chair: Mrs. Walker

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The action taken by the Joint Board, and the "Statement" issued by the Labour Party, which are referred to in the following pages, deserve a reply. Here it is. It is addressed to the entire Labour, Trade Union, and Socialist organisations of Great Britain. Study it well, and discuss it in your Societies, for the future well-being of the Working-Class Movement depends upon your verdict.

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PARLIAMENT AS WE SEE IT

March 13th.—Mr. Boland reported that the War Office had appointed a censor of cables at Ballinskelligs, who untruthfully pretended that he was a captain and failed to pay his hotel bills. There is only one hotel in the place, so the hotel keeper could not turn him out without rendering himself liable under the Defence of the Realm Act. Mr. Long expressed sympathy, but the War Office could not pay.

SUGAR RESERVED FOR BREWERS!

Mr. Richardson reported that 8,000 to 10,000 tons of Manilla sugar bought by London dealers is in the West India Docks, and that they are not allowed to clear any of this sugar unless they will give an undertaking that it is to be used for brewing purposes. Captain Bathurst admitted it.

WOMEN FINED £3 15s. FOR REFUSING TO WORK ON C.E.

Mr. Anderson stated that at the Caxton Munitions Tribunal, Mrs. Skipper and Miss Brown, of Hounslow, were fined 15s. for refusing to work on C.E. Their leaving certificates being withheld, they were unemployed five weeks. A week more ought to have freed them to seek employment, but they were then brought up again and fined £3. Miss Brown is only 17, and she had a certificate from her doctor saying she was unfit for the poisonous work on C.E. Mr. Kellaway said the women have now got their leaving certificates. He refused to give an undertaking that the prosecutions will cease.

MINISTRY OF NATIONAL SERVICE BILL.

It is believed that the Irish Party will now oppose all Government business, causing as much delay as possible by obstructive tactics. On the Ministry of National Service Bill they moved a number of amendments which, whatever their object, were for the most part pertinent enough. Mr. Hazleton had heard it said that St. Ermin's Hotel was less like a Government Department than a lunatic asylum. Mr. Devlin read a resolution from the Irish Agricultural Labourers, which has branches in Ulster, Leinster and Connaught, viewing with alarm the proposal to extend this Bill to Ireland, and calling on Irishmen not to register under it, and declaring "unalterable opposition to any form of military service." Mr. Devlin abused Mr. Duke for having refused to allow the Irish local councils to reduce the rent of labourers' cottages by 6d. per week and for having refused to fix a minimum wage of 25s. a week for Irish agricultural labourers.

Mr. Duke complained that the suspicion that the Government was endeavouring to enlarge its powers under the Defence of the Realm Act was poisoning the debate.

Sir C. Hobhouse and Mr. Pringle expressed doubt as to the legality of the Regulations issued by the Ministry of Munitions on February 28th, ordering employers to obey Regulations and restrictive Orders made by the National Service Minister, on pain of punishment under the Defence of the Realm Act. They argued, firstly, that the Director General could have had no legal authority till the Bill creating the office had become law, and secondly that the Defence of the Realm Act itself gives no power to any Government Department to restrict action except in regard to particular factories in connection with munition work, in which case compensation would be paid. Mr. Duke replied that he rather admired the ingenuity of those who had raised this point, but that a court of law was the proper place to debate it, leaving it to be understood that the Government cared very little whether its actions were legal or not provided it had the power to enforce them.

WAR OFFICE SCHEME.

An amendment by Mr. Dillon to give the National Service Minister power to decide between the claims for labour of conflicting Government Departments was resisted by Sir George Cave, who said that it is intended that the Director-General shall act as mediator. Mr. Randall indignantly asked whether, if the War Office said, "We must have men for fighting," Mr. Neville Chamberlain might actually decide against the War Office. Sir George Cave replied, "I do not say the decision of the mediator would be final." Mr. Dillon: "Is the whole country to be starved if the Army Council decides to take away all the men?" Sir G. Cave said that in the last resort the Cabinet would decide. As a matter of fact, whatever is decided the War Office takes the men it wants. Sixty-nine voted for the amendment, 177 against.

Mr. Hazleton protested against the appointment of a paid Parliamentary Secretary to the Director-General, and said that the paid officials would soon be able to outvote any likely combination of private Members. Mr. Hogge referred to a statute of Queen Anne passed because the Governments of the time added to those in the House paid persons who could outvote the elected Members. He pointed out that for ten days the Government had been trying to discover whether M.P.s who have become unpaid Civil Servants are entitled to sit and vote in the House.

* * * *

March 14th.—In reply to Mr. Dundas White, Mr. Chamberlain stated that the minimum age for children employed in Indian cotton mills is nine, the maximum hours for their employment six per day!

* * * *

In answer to Colonel Burn, Captain Bathurst said that it was not thought necessary to insist upon millers declaring the proportion of admixtures in consignments of flour, "because these vary from hour to hour in the manufacture of flour as various ingredients run short." Captain Bathurst also stated that the prices officially fixed for bacon, butter, cheese and lard not only apply to wholesale sales, but if the retail prices become excessive the Food Controller will interfere. Is the Food Controller competent to judge what is "excessive" to the working woman?

* * * *

Mr. Snowden alleged that men granted certificates of exemption—on condition that they accept work of national importance under the Pelham Committee—have been called up for medical examination. Mr. Macpherson knew nothing of such action.

INDIA'S "GIFT."

India's contribution of £100,000,000 towards the cost of the War, Mr. Chamberlain explained, had of necessity to be accepted without reserve. The taxation question it raised was greatly to be regretted, but in his opinion unavoidable. These fiscal problems had to be dealt with if this "free and generous" gift were to be accepted. By this lame excuse Mr. Chamberlain only made the position worse, and this partial admission that Indian capitalists were bought off by a cotton tax proved how little the Indian people had been taken into consideration.

Mr. Barton moved an amendment recording the gratitude of the House for the contribution of £100,000,000 by India, but regretting that the provision of same "should include an alteration in the established system of duties on cotton goods, thereby throwing an unnecessary burden upon the people of India, and inevitably causing a controversy between different parts of the Empire, which it was most inexpedient to raise during the War." He pointed out how the Lancashire trade, already working under difficulties, would be still further handicapped by this measure. It was only an excuse to pretend that this tax was to propitiate India; there were many other things that the people of India desired. Other Lancashire representatives joined in Mr. Barton's protest, mainly because this tax pointed to the disappearance of Free Trade.

To avoid defeating the Government, Mr. Asquith proposed that for the present no drastic action should be taken, but that "the fiscal relationships of the various parts of the Empire to one another and to the rest of the world should come to be reviewed at the close of the War." He dubbed this new tax as "a step of a very challenging kind."

JUSTICE A "WAR MEASURE"!!

The Prime Minister proceeded to justify this step as a War measure. At the same time he urged that the Indian population had felt this grievance for a long time, and now "this great act of justice" should be extended to India "as a War measure." Anything more absurd than this speech cannot be imagined. Sir John Simon did not fail to dwell on this aspect, and also pointed out that the Cabinet ought to meet and consult beforehand and not give this proof to the House that there was no unity or organisation. Mr. Bonar Law tried to save the situation, and reiterated that to gain the good will of India this cotton duty was imperative.

Mr. Snowden put the case for the people of India, whom he was sure did not for the most part know what cotton duties meant. They would, however, feel that their cotton would cost them more.

A division was taken, with the result that 265 voted for the Government and 125 against.

LIBERTY A DANGER!

Commander Wedgwood advocated the abolition of slavery in German East Africa; but Mr. Bonar Law could not see how this was feasible while the territory is merely in British "military occupation." If, when a country is British, slavery is illegal, why not in the present circumstances? Are the British so unpopular that they fear to give liberty?

* * * *

Mr. Ferens alleged that women in the metropolitan area are being sentenced to three and six months' imprisonment with hard labour for solicitation. Sir G. Cave denied the charge.

* * * *

Mr. Doris stated that an Irish labourer who was doing temporary work in England was arrested under the Military Service Act. No excuse was forthcoming from the War Office. Is this the way to encourage Irish labour?

* * * *

Mr. Snowden stated that boys of 17½ years employed at the Gretna works are required to undergo examination by the Army Medical Boards.

MORE MONEY.

A supplementary Vote of Credit of £60,000,000 was sprung upon the House, and many questions were put as to its disposal. Mr. Bonar Law stated that £18,000,000 was required for wheat purchased from the Australian Commonwealth, which was to be paid for this year instead of in the next financial year; £23,000,000 for advances to our Allies and the Dominions, and £19,000,000 Munitions Department, not for extra munitions, but for earlier delivery of contracts, and the expenditure on the part of the Shipping Controller to increase the supply of merchant ships. How these expenses could not be foreseen last month when the Vote of Credit was moved was not explained. This raises the total of all the Votes of Credit since the beginning of the War to £3,792,000,000. Mr. McKenna pointed out that we had spent over two thousand millions in one year on the War. Mr. Mason debated on the situation as regards the possibility of peace, and said that they in this House are entitled to know what the policy of the Government is and when a termination of the War is to be expected. So, too, are the people of this country entitled to know this.

With no Government representation in the House excepting that of the Treasury, Mr. Pringle went over the whole ground of the mismanagement of the Government and of the lack of courtesy or duty shown by neglecting to attend debates on important matters. He moved several times "That you do report progress," but the Chairman said he could not accept the motion. After much condemnation on the part of the Members, Sir Leo Chiozza Money (Parliamentary Secretary to the Ministry of Shipping Control) was dragged into the House to answer the speakers.

NATIONAL SERVICE GAME.

Mr. Anderson disproved the action of the National Service Department, which allows people already employed to enrol. For instance, Lord Rhondda has said he will enrol; but it will only be a ease of indexing his name and giving people work to prove that he is doing national service. Mr. Wilson followed in the same strain and said this procedure was only creating work for a staff in an office. It was all part of the extravagance of the present system which organised meetings such as one he knew of where four Members of Parliament were on a platform addressing an audience of sixteen, three of whom were Press men.

Mr. Outhwaite made a plea for proper organisation of the land. He prophesied that famine, bankruptcy and revolution will end the present struggle—we must make haste to turn the sword into the ploughshare, or hunger will force us to lay down arms.

Mr. Lynch, in making a wholesale condemnation of Mr. Lloyd George said: "He is the prisoner of the reactionary crowd!"

* * * *

The abdication of the Czar and the Russian Revolution were announced by Mr. Bonar Law.

THE TAXI PROBLEM.

March 16th.—Sir G. Cave stated that in reply to a deputation representing the London and Provincial Union of Licensed Vehicle Workers on the subject of women taxi-drivers, he had said "I had never intended, and do not now intend, to sanction the issue to women of licenses to drive trams or motor omnibuses." The question of women taxi-cab drivers would be reconsidered after the War. There should be no differentiation in occupations; all should be open to those of either sex who qualify!

* * * *

In the Supplementary Vote of Credit debate, Major G. P. Collins pointed out the great necessity of attending to the food supply and of sending back men from the Army to the vital industries. "No amount of management will control famine." The Revolution in Russia was partly caused by food scarcity; this country should learn a lesson.

"BUSINESS METHODS."

The lack of business methods of the "Business Government" was the plaint of Mr. Lough's speech. Everything it touched was made dearer and scarcer! He quoted Thomas Paine, who said: "A change of Ministry amounts to nothing: one goes out, another comes in, but still the same measures, vices, extravagances are pursued. It signifies not who is the Minister: the defect lies in the system. The foundation and superstructure of the Government is bad. Prop it up as you will, it will continually sink. England has been the prey of jobs ever since the Revolution."

Mr. Bonar Law tried to explain away the increased expenditure that occasioned this Supplementary Vote of Credit. He referred to the impossibility of economising on pensions, as though anyone ever wanted to do such a thing! It is the public departments which are wasting money which might well be added to the pensions! With reference to Ireland, he remarked that should the opposition become too great it might to necessary "to appeal to the country!"

REASON NEEDED!

A very true remark was uttered by Sir W. Byles. "If kings and Governments will make playthings of their people and set them up to shoot and starve one another, they must expect that their thrones will be shaken." He recommended having recourse to reason to end the War, since force had failed. "We have made England a smithy, Europe a shambles, and grim death stalks over Europe." This, he said, was the deliberate act of two powerful, educated and civilised Christian nations.

* * * *

Mr. Hazleton drew attention to a paragraph in a Reuter telegram from Roumania that "at a Cabinet meeting held here on March 8th it was announced that Great Britain had agreed to advance to Roumania the sum of £40,000,000 at par. The loan will bear interest at 5 per cent." He complained that no statement on the subject had been made to the House.

GENERAL POST.

The Ministry of National Service Bill was read the third time and passed. It was criticised by several Members. Mr. R. Macdonald said the scheme was like making a haystack in which was a needle, and then having to pull it down in order to find the needle. He feared that the system would fail, and compulsion become inevitable. He objected to the absurdity of everybody already employed on work of national importance having to register.

Sir H. Craik also criticised the scheme, and complained of the waste of paper in sending forms broadcast over the country and of the clerks it was necessary to employ. He admitted that compulsion was eventually inevitable, and that he would prefer it now.

Mr. Hayes Fisher, in replying, admitted the justice of most of the criticisms.

* * * *

March 19th.—Mr. W. Thorne pointed out that Swedes had increased from 30s. per ton to 50s. in the space of a few days at Covent Garden; that the week ending March 10th they were sold at 2½d. per lb. in East London, which is £23 6 8d. per ton!

RUSSIAN REVOLUTION.

In reply to Mr. Asquith, Mr. Lloyd George said that the Russian Revolution was the first "great triumph of the principle for which we entered the War"; that "free peoples are the best defenders of their own homes and safety." He omitted to add when those people happen to be governed by a non-British Government!

* * * *

Sir G. Cave stated that uninterned enemy aliens are being requested to do "useful work in a civil capacity." If they fail to comply they will be interned. Industrial conscription for aliens!

FRANCHISE AND ELECTORAL REFORM.

Mr. Billing: "Are we to understand that no steps whatever are to be taken now to give us an opportunity of appealing to the country, if it should be necessary, on fair and just grounds?"

Mr. Bonar Law: "No, sir. I think it is the general view of the Government that before taking steps in that direction it would be well to have a discussion on the recommendation of the Speaker's Conference." Women must see that they, too, will have a voice in any General Election possible.

* * * *

Mr. Duncan alleged that a number of girls employed in an aircraft factory have been dismissed for attending a trade union meeting. Also that the lady supervisor questioned the girls in couples, and said if they had attended a trade union meeting they would be dismissed. Dr. Addison admitted that five girls had been dismissed, but that the manager denies that it was because of belonging to a trade union. We should like to know the reason, then!

DUCHESS OF CONNAUGHT.

Mr. Lloyd George proposed a vote of condolence to His Majesty and the Duke of Connaught on the occasion of the death of the Duchess of Connaught. He extolled her virtues, and styled her as one of Britain's "adopted children." Mr. Ginnell made the well-deserved rejoinder that if this lady, a German, possessed all these good qualities, surely the "foul abuse" of her countrymen and women for the last two-and-a-half years was most ill-placed. He urged that the moment should be made a starting point in a great Peace movement, and that the Kaiser's name be included in the vote of condolence.

MINISTRY OF PENSIONS.

Mr. Hogge made a long survey of the Royal Warrant, and denounced the clause which gave "gratuities" instead of pensions to "broken men." There are already a hundred thousand of these men discharged without pension. Such a clause, he said, would not go through the House of Commons without his strong protest. If a man were taken to fight, he was surely entitled to a pension. The Government could economise on anything it liked, but not on pensions. He cited endless cases to prove the truth of his argument. Mr. Hogge also pleaded that a man deprived of speech should get more than 22s. a week; a deaf man more than the 19s. 3d. allotted under this Warrant. Sir Kinloch-Cooke demanded the raising of the gratuity from £100 to £200, and Mr. Bonar Law said they might go the length of increasing it to £150! Irish Members deplored the number of disabled soldiers in Irish Workhouses, and pointed out that if recruits were wanted, surely this was the wrong way to go about getting them.

The Pensions Minister (Mr. Barnes) could see nothing wrong with the Royal Warrant, and referred to Mr. Hogge's able plea for soldiers and their relatives as "eye-wash." As for the mother, a new clause will be inserted providing that a pension not exceeding 15s. a week will be granted if she becomes a widow or partially incapable of self-support through infirmity or age.

Sir Griffith Boscawen crowned Mr. Barnes' utterances by promising that where the gratuity exceeded £25 it should be left to the local committee to administer it in whatever way it considers best. As though a discharged soldier has no right to dispose of his hard-earned money as he thinks best! The discussion was put a division with the result that 51 voted against the Government and 150 in favour.

THE
WORKERS' SUFFRAGE FEDERATION

To secure Human Suffrage, namely, a Vote for every Woman and Man of full age, and to win Social and Economic Freedom for the People.

Entrance Fee ... ... Id.
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I wish to become a Member of the W.S.F. and enclose.....subscription and entrance fee for.....months.

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WHAT'S ON?
W.S.F. FIXTURES
OUTDOOR

FRIDAY, MARCH 23rd.
White Cross Street, Old Street, 1 p.m., Mrs. Boyce, Miss Beamish.
SATURDAY, MARCH 24th.
Hoxton Street, 2.30 p.m., Miss Price, Miss Beamish.
"Peacock," Canning Town, 7 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
SUNDAY, MARCH 25th.
Osborn Street, Whitechapel, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Boyce, Mr. Albery.
The Grove, Stratford (Joint Meeting with N.-C.F.), 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Walker.
Cannon Street Road, Commercial Road, 4 p.m., Mrs. Walker, Mr. Higenbottom.
Victoria Park, 3 p.m., Peace Meeting.
Hyde Park, 3 p.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
MONDAY, MARCH 26th.
Piggott Street, Poplar, 12 (noon), Miss Price.
TUESDAY, MARCH 27th.
Grundy Street, Poplar, 11.30 a.m., Miss Price.
THURSDAY, MARCH 29th.
Follett Street, Poplar, 11.30 a.m., Mrs. Bouvier.
FRIDAY, MARCH 30th.
Piggott Street, Poplar, 12 (noon), Miss Lynch.
SATURDAY, MARCH 31st.
Grundy Street, Poplar, 11.30 a.m., Miss Price.
"Salmon and Ball," 2.30 p.m., Mrs. Boyce.
SUNDAY, APRIL 1st.
Victoria Park, 3 p.m., Peace Meeting.

INDOOR

CHANDOS HALL "AT HOME," 21a Maiden Lane (off Bedford Street, Strand).—To-day, 3.30 p.m., Miss O'Callaghan, "Ireland's Contribution to Culture." Chair, Mrs. Walker. March 31st, Madame Lafitte Cyon, "Mothers' Guilds." Chair, Mrs. Bouvier.

BOW WOMEN'S HALL, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow.—To-morrow (Sunday), 6 p.m., Rev. G. T. Sadler, M.A., L.L.B., "The Pain of Life: Why Does God Allow It?" Chair, Mrs. Boyce. April 1st, Miss M. A. E. Milton, "Adelheid Popp" (an Austrian working woman Socialist); Mr. John Scurr. Chair, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.
Books of fiction will be gratefully accepted for the Bow Library.

POPLAR WOMEN'S HALL, 20 Railway Street., Poplar (opposite South Bromley Station, N.L.R.).—March 23rd, 3 p.m., Meeting. Speaker, Miss Lynch. March 28th, 8.15 p.m., Mr. Fuller.
Admission free. All are welcome!

BROMLEY, 53 St. Leonard's Street.—March 28th, 2 p.m., Miss Lynch will speak.
148-150 High Road, Willesden, 7 p.m., Monday 26th, Branch meeting.
St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, Monday, March 26th, 8 p.m., Miss Sylvia Pankhurst. Chair, Mrs. Drake.
Bow Baths Hall, Friday, March 23rd, 8 p.m., Food Meeting. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mrs. Drake, Mrs. Scurr, Mrs. Thompson, Mrs. Walker.
March 30th, 8 p.m., "Casey and His Fiddle," Bow Baths, Roman Road, E.
Memorial Hall, April 17th, Judge Neil on "Mothers' Pensions"; Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Dr. Barbara Tchaykovsky, and Miss Sylvia Pankhurst.

PROVINCES

LEEDS.—March 23rd, a Dance will be held to raise funds to send delegate to Annual Conference.

OTHER ORGANISATIONS

To-morrow, Sunday, 8.15 p.m., at Kingsley Hall, Bow, Dr. Salter will speak. Discussion, 9.30 p.m.

All Societies are cordially invited to send in notices of forthcoming events for our "What's On" column. Fee, 1s. 6d. for twenty words and ½d. per word after.

JUDGE NEIL IN LONDON

The W.S.F. has arranged the following meetings to be addressed by Judge Neil on the Mothers' Pension Scheme:—

April 17th, Memorial Hall, 8 p.m., Judge Neil, Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Dr. B. Tchaykovsky.

May 6th, Lees Hall, Canning Town, 7 p.m., Judge Neil, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, Mrs. Drake.

April 18th, Portsmouth, joint with Trades Council; April 22nd, Leicester; April 23rd, Huddersfield; April 24th, York; April 25th, Leeds; April 29th, Merthyr and Aberdare, joint with I.L.P. Other provincial meetings under consideration.

BOW BATHS HALL

FRIDAY, MARCH 30, 8 p.m. (doors open 7.30)

CASEY AND HIS FIDDLE

Speeches—

Miss SYLVIA PANKHURST; Mr. JOHN SCURR

The Draw for the W.S.F. Competition will take place

Reserved Seats 7d. (including War Tax)
Unreserved Seats 4d. (including War Tax).

WHOSE RUSSIAN REVOLUTION?
(continued from page 704).

gates, each one representing 1,000, met at the Tauris Palace on March 18th, and the "Times" has it that they were "incited to destroy the emblems of the Empire." It also asserts that Cheidze told the people that a deputation was coming from Berlin to inaugurate the Realm of Universal Brotherhood, which gives us hope that peace conversations between the Russian and German workers may be on foot.

On March 19th the workers secured a still further concession, the Provisional Government announcing that, though the Czar, at the time of his abdication, had made the Grand Duke Nicholas Generalissimo of the Russian Forces, in deference to popular feeling, no Romanoff should hold this post. It was also promised that the looked-for elections shall be held within two months. Then the Council of Workers' and Soldiers' Delegates decided by 1,170 votes to 30 to return to work. In their desire not to imitate the tyrants they have overthrown the workers decided to allow even the reactionary newspapers to appear as of old: The "Novoe Vremya," the most reactionary paper of all, has now joined the army of the Czar's detractors, condemning him for his autocracy and his "feeble mind and vacillating will." Thus the paper endeavours to regain its popularity in order in its reptile fashion to attack the former more effectively. The reactionaries are furious at the successes gained by the Socialists, and one of their hirelings, a cavalry officer, has attempted to shoot Kerensky, the Socialist Minister of Justice.

The "Times," in its leading article of March 21st, deplores the concessions that have been made, and recommends sterner treatment of the "demagogues." Presumably it is desired that the Provisional Government shall revert to the methods of the old régime. Unfortunately, the "Times" is not merely the mirror of discomforted autocracy: it is the organ of powerful capitalist factions, which, having sunk money in Russian enterprises, will use all their efforts to secure that the power of the British purse and, if need be, of British arms will be used to suppress the Russian proletariat in its desperate fight for freedom.

In the midst of this gigantic struggle, the result of which every worker the world over, every Socialist, every one who dreams of the brotherhood of mankind, may well await in fervent prayer for its success; the British Parliamentary Labour Party, with the peculiar ignorance of men dressed in a little brief authority, despatch the following telegram to the Russian workers:—

Organised Labour in Great Britain is watching with deepest sympathy the efforts of the Russian people to deliver themselves from power of reactionary elements which are impeding their advances to victory. Labour in this country and France has long realised that despotism of Germany must be overthrown if the way is to be opened for free and peaceful development of European nations. This conviction has inspired them to make unprecedented efforts and sacrifices, and we confidently look forward to assistance of Russian Labour in achieving the object to which we have devoted ourselves.

Earnestly trust you will impress on your followers that any remission of effort means disaster to comrades in the trenches and to our common hopes of social regeneration.

The general meeting of the Russian Socialist Groups in London, after having acquainted itself with the jingoist appeal of Messrs. Henderson, Hodge, Appleton, and other so-called "leaders of Labour" to the people in Russia, scornfully brands their attempt to utilise the revolutionary movement in Russia for the interests of the "Entente" Imperialist coalition; emphasises in particular their hypocrisy in view of the fact that during the recent most critical period they have not only given no aid to the revolutionary movement in Russia, but have even counteracted it as far as lay in their power; states, that the revolutionary proletariat has nothing in common with the varlets of the capitalist governments, and declares, that the class-conscious workers of Russia have carried on until now, and will continue to carry on the revolutionary struggle against the War, against Imperialism and capitalism.

The German Chancellor, von Bethmann-Hollweg, has understood more truly than the British Labour Party the significance of the Russian popular movement. Therefore he tries a little to place himself in line with the on coming wave of progress that shall oversweep the frontiers. He has announced in the Prussian Diet that after the War the Government will propose a reform of the Prussian franchise, as the after-War tasks will require the work of the "entire people," who must be granted "equal co-operation" in the administration of the Empire.

At the Labour Conference on Electoral Reform which was held on March 20th, with these events still vivid in their newness, all spoke of the Russian Revolution. The timidity of the Executive still held the majority of the delegates in leading strings, but the bonds are loosening. Spring is in the air!

E. SYLVIA PANKHUURST.

ANOTHER COMMITTEE

Still another Committee! This time it is on reconstruction. There is one woman on it—Mrs. Sydney Webb. Her ideas are perhaps a little out of date, but when one surveys the list of those who have been put on Government Committees it seems strange that she should have had to wait so long. Mrs. Webb will certainly have us all carefully labelled and pigeon-holed if she has her way!

Donations to be sent to the Hon. Treasurer, Dr. Tchaykovsky, or to the Hon. Financial Secretary, Miss N. L. Smyth, 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E. All parcels to 400 Old Ford Road, Bow, E.

GRATEFULLY ACKNOWLEDGED

GENERAL FUND.—Irene, per Mrs. Drake (weekly), £1; Lady Clare Annesley, £1; Mrs. Cook, 5s.; Miss L. Cutten (monthly), 5s.; Mrs. Nicholls, per Miss Lynch, 2s. 6d.; Mrs. Heligmann, 2s. 6d.; Anon, per Nurse Connolly, 2s. 6d.; Miss C. Eagle, 1s. 6d. COLLECTIONS: Chandos Hall, 4s. 10d.; Bow Women's Hall, 2s. 0½d.; Miss Lynch, 1s.

"DREADNOUGHT" FUND.—Per Mrs. Drake, £11 0s. 4d.; Anon, £3; H. Wiskemann, Esq., 6s. 9d.; Mrs. Honseid, 1s. 6d.; John Coalson, Esq., 1s. COLLECTION: Mrs. Payne, 5s.

LIBEL ACTION GUARANTEE FUND.—Rathmell Wilson, Esq., 10s. 6d.

MILK AND GENERAL DISTRESS.—Mr. and Mrs. Sadd Brown (monthly), £3; Ernest Brown, Esq., £3; Miss Audrey Evans, £2 2s.; Misses Gulland (monthly), £1 15s. 6d.; Mrs. Mintur Scott, £2 2s.; per Miss Weir (monthly), £1 10s.; Miss Allen Brown (Mothers' Arms), £1 10s.; Nurse Hebbes (12s. weekly), £1 4s.; Sir John Bethell, £1 1s.; Mrs. Crosland Taylor (Montessori), £1; Miss Leila Burroughs (monthly), 10s.; Mr. and Mrs. Beesley, 10s.; Mr. Thornhill, per Miss Lynch, 8s.; Mrs. Schurr, 6s. 1d.; E. Anslow, 6s.; Miss Helen McNaught, 5s.; Mrs. Kinton, 5s.; Mrs. Gillies (monthly), 4s.; Mr. Stiebel (1s. weekly), 3s.; Miss Nicholls, per Miss Lynch, 1s. COLLECTIONS: Profit on "Snow White," £2 0s. 6d.; L.S.A. Tool Room, £1 8s. 2d.; Sale of Clothes, 18s. 11d.; Miss Mackay (Churn),) 13s. 2½d.; Misses E. Lagsding and L. Barker (Green's Yard), 13s. 2d.; Poplar Sale of Baby's Clothes 6s. 6d.; Misses K. Lagsding and T. Barker (Cubitt Town), 5s. 7½d.

CLOTHES, &c.—Mrs. Leo Myers, Miss Canning, Miss Powell, Mrs. Leslie Oldham, Mrs. Crosland Taylor, National Road School Children, per Miss Bixley.

EGGS.—Lady Margaret Sackville.

MISCELLANEOUS ADVERTISEMENTS

ADULT SUFFRAGE.—A review of the existing franchise anomalies with strong arguments for Votes for All. Published by the London Labour Council for Adult Suffrage.
Copies of this pamphlet 1d. each, or 9d. per dozen, postage extra from Hon. Sec., 400 Old Ford Road, E.

FAMILY LIMITATION DOCTRINE. Post free, 1½d. —Malthusian League, Queen Anne's Chambers, Westminster.

HAND-MADE UNDERCLOTHING. Soldier's wife, good needlewoman, desires work to do at home; good references. Women's nightdresses made from 2s. 6d.; babies' gowns from 1s. Mending and darning also undertaken.—Apply Box 20.

SUFFRAGE WORKERS should spend their holidays at "Sea View," Victoria Road, Brighton. Hostess, Miss Turner.

HALL TO LET, for meetings, etc. Holds 60. Terms moderate.—Apply, Miss Beamish, St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton Street, N.

WANTED, COMPANION-HELP; three in family; cook and gardener kept.—W., c/o this Office.

WANTED, TWO UNFURNISHED ROOMS. Old Ford district.—Apply Green, 16 Laurence Street, Chelsea, S.W.

Charge for advertising in this column, 1d. per word; four insertions for the price of three.

NORWOOD

NORWOOD BRANCH.—On Wednesday, March 14th, a meeting was held at S. Norwood at which a new branch of the W.S.F. was formed. Councillor Bradshaw was in the chair. Mr. Everett was elected Secretary, Mrs. Montague Assistant Secretary, and Mrs. M. Stevens Treasurer. The members are very enthusiastic, and intend to make the branch a very active one. All unattached Suffragists, &c., in the district who would like to join are asked to communicate with Mr. Everett, 26 Sandown Road, S. Norwood, S.E.

COMPETITION

W.S.F. Draw Competition on March 24th 1917, in aid of the W.S.F., "Dreadnought," and Propaganda Fund. Prizes: 1st, Gentleman's Gold Watch; 2nd an Alarm Clock; 3rd, Lady's or Gentleman's Umbrella; 4th, Bound Volume of "The Woman's Dreadnought." Entrance, 2d. Draw Secretary: Mrs. Drake, 49 Crediton Road, Tidal Basin.

Draw books should be returned to Mrs. Drake, 49 Crediton Road, Tidal Basin. Draw will take place on Friday, 30th, at Casey's meeting at the Bow Baths.

NEXT WEEK!

Do not miss next week's issue: Number I., Volume IV. Illustration by Herbert Cole. If you already take "The Dreadnought," buy an extra copy of the Birthday Number and give it to a friend.

PUBLIC MEETING
AT
St. Stephen's Shop, 85 Hoxton St.
MONDAY, MARCH 26th at 8 p.m.
Speaker: Miss Sylvia Pankhurst
Chair: Mrs. Drake

Friends and members please note that this shop will open on Tuesday, March 27th, for sale of Socialist, Labour, and Feminist literature. If you deal with us, you will help the funds.

Those who would like to cheer up the C.O.s in Wandsworth Prison should go on Sundays and join in the singing which is carried on outside at 7 p.m.

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